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### CONTENTS OF THIS ISSUE.

	PAGE
Notes of the Week . . . . .	333
EDITORIALS:	
Bureaucratic Views on Currency and Banking . . . . .	336
The Rights of Labor—by Ex-Gov. Davis H. Waite . . . . .	339
Henry Georgeism . . . . .	343
BOOK REVIEWS:	
The Real Bismarck . . . . .	344
Philosophy in Cap and Bells . . . . .	345
Briefer Notices . . . . .	346
About Books and Writers . . . . .	347
Publications Received . . . . .	348

### CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, i. e., The Initiative and Referendum.  
Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.  
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.  
Opposition to Trusts.  
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

### NOTES OF THE WEEK.

AT LAST have terms of peace been agreed upon at Paris. The demands of the American Commissioners, as representatives of superior strength and power, have been conceded; the Spanish have bowed to the inevitable. Nothing remains to be done at Paris save the formal drawing up of the treaty of peace, a work for the secretaries of the commission, and the actual affixing of the signatures of the commissioners. Then there remains ratification by the United States Senate on the one side and by the Spanish Cortes on the other, and then peace,

official peace. But, to all intents and purposes, we have peace now, the terms are known, only formalities remain before the official promulgation—assuming, of course, that ratification will not be refused by either American Senate or Spanish Cortes. And with this peace, practical if not yet official, we find ourselves sovereigns over 800,000 Puerto Ricans and ten millions of Filipinos, of which latter probably nine millions never so much as heard of our name. But none the less they now, by agreement of Western nations, agreement to which they were no party, owe allegiance to America, to a nation that most of them know not of, to a flag they have not seen. Their consent to such transfer of allegiance from Spain to the United States has not been asked or granted. And if they refuse to recognize such transfer made for them and of them, but not by them, what then?

It is indeed assumed that they will raise no objection, but rather hail the transfer of sovereignty when they discover that such transfer frees them from oppression, promotes their material well being. And Spanish oppression and misrule and tyranny has been so great that if they were given a free choice between a continuance of Spanish sovereignty and the transfer of that sovereignty to a people they know not of, they would doubtless choose the unknown. But these people have had higher aims than a mere change of masters, higher aims as shown by their struggles for emancipation from Spanish rule, for independence, struggles not for a new and more humane master, but to be their own masters. And so if they were consulted as to their wishes they would doubtless make answer: not a new master but no master, not transfer of allegiance from Spain to America but independence.

But we do not purpose to consult them, merely promise to be a more humane master and demand obedience as a right promising chastisement if our commands are not obeyed, if these people refuse to accept us as their task masters. In short, we take the Philippines with the avowed purpose of enforcing our will upon the people of those islands whether they be willing or not, and this means that we must keep an army in the Philippines not merely to defend the islands from outside aggression but to enforce our will within. We need not shut our eyes: In taking these islands we are refusing recognition to the principle that our forefathers fought for, that we have ever avowed as incontestable, namely, that all just government rests upon the consent of the governed. In the Philippines, tempted by self gain, we purpose to set up a government not upon the foundation of justice, which we have declared to be the consent of the governed, but upon force.

WE ENTERED the war with Spain with the solemn pledge that we waged war not for self aggrandizement, but the emancipation of an oppressed people, not for conquest but liberation. And our protestations were ridiculed in Europe as insincere. At the time, strong in the purity of our motives, we treated such charges of hypocrisy with contempt, feeling that they would not

stick to us but run off as water from the back of a duck. And so such charges of insincerity did not hurt. But what can we say now when such protestations of our purposes are recalled to us, recalled after we have belied them by our acts, shown our insincerity? No longer can we lightly pass them by for they stick and hurt. We suppose the proper thing is to fly into a temper and cry out, "you blockhead don't you see conditions have changed since we made such solemn pledges," that "they applied to conditions as they were then not as we find them now." But someone is unkind enough to say that for his part he believes a nation's word ought to be as good as an individual's.

However, we are not so sure but that we will discover that we have kept our word after all, though not in the expected or accepted manner. We promised that the war was not one for aggrandizement, for self-enrichment, and we are inclined to the belief that it has not so ended. True we have annexed the Philippines, but in such annexation what will we find, enrichment or burdens? We fancy burdens. And our promise was that we would fight the war, assume burdens that other peoples might be freed from oppression, grow rich and happy, their happiness and their advancement from which we would profit as their neighbors being our all sufficient reward. So the possible conclusion that we have not broken our promises. A pretty bit of sophistry which will not be accepted, for though we keep our promises in this way, under duress as it were, it will not be in the spirit in which they were given, and so we will be burdened with the charge of insincerity as well as with the government of islands that we will find a drain upon our resources not a source of enrichment.

It is indeed asserted that these islands, and we now refer to the East Indian group, will not be a burden to us, that they will pay their way, that the people of those islands will be required to pay for the increased armament that their acquisition will make necessary. In other words they will be called upon to pay the cost of the army and fleet maintained in the Philippines not only to secure them from outside attack but keep the people in subjection. That is to say it is expected that the Filipinos will be charged with the expense we are put to in depriving them of the right to rule themselves, a deprivation that must make them unrestful and must make it necessary to rule them with force.

A government resting upon the consent of the governed stands without a military force to uphold it, indeed such a force is a source of danger to such a government, but a government established without the consent of the governed can only be upheld by a military force. And so it is that Spain had to keep an army in Cuba and Puerto Rico and the Philippines, so it is expected that we will have to maintain a military force in Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and keep a military force in Cuba as long as we exercise sovereignty in that island.

The whole business of so ruling is, to us, revolting. Any territory we must hold from the people thereof by military force we do not want. But it is just so that we propose to hold the Philippines at least, hold them and govern them without the consent of the people and so of necessity by military force. In Puerto Rico our position is somewhat different for we believe the people of that island are quite ready to consent to annexation and will be entirely content to be governed as a territory of the United States, especially if, as anticipated, we give them special trade privileges in the United States, that is, free entrance of their products into our ports, thus giving their products a preference over the products of other tropical countries and thereby conferring upon them a prosperity they have never before enjoyed, and besides grant to them local self-government. For in that event we believe the people of Puerto Rico will voluntarily own allegiance to the United States and not as a matter of constraint and that thus ruling in that territory, so far as we may rule, with the consent of the governed, it will not be necessary to

keep a military force in that island for other purpose than defense against outside aggression. And as little is to be feared on this score a small garrison will suffice, for under such conditions no larger garrison will be required in Puerto Rico, the key to the entrance of the Nicaragua Canal on the east than in the Hawaiian islands, the key to the entrance in the west.

BUT any such hope in regard to the Philippines is vain, vain because we purpose to make it vain by governing without the consent of the governed and, therefore, of necessity by military force. And so in the Philippines we must keep an army as Spain kept an army, not for defense against foreign aggression, but for use against the people of those islands. Of course, we could treat the Philippines in such a way as to make unnecessary the keeping of a large military force in that far off part of the globe, but this would necessitate the putting to one side of our schemes of governing without the consent of the governed, would mean the establishment of a government with the consent of the governed and this might mean, not unlikely would mean, an independent government, leaving us with only the possession of a harbor or two that we might keep without violating the principles of republican government. And this is just the way we should treat the Philippines and if such treatment should result in the creation of a Philippine Republic under our protectorate it would be the best possible settlement of a perplexing question.

Of course, we recognize that the people of the Philippines are not as enlightened as some in the ways of self government and that in learning to govern themselves they would be prone to go through many trials, but if you never give a people the chance to grow, to govern themselves, how are they to learn and how is the race to expand, for freemen only, not slaves, can lead the way to a higher civilization. As Senator Mason, of Illinois, nobly says and much after Macaulay: "I dislike the thought of fixing a government for a people without their consent. I am a great believer in home rule. Government only comes by evolution. A people never can learn to govern themselves until they have tried. I think the people of the Philippines ought to have an opportunity to try. You cannot learn to swim without going into the water." But evidently we are not going to let the people of the Philippines learn to govern themselves, not going to give them any water in which to learn to swim,—no more than the British have let the Indians learn to govern themselves,—but hold them in submission that we may exploit the islands with their labor and carry off the profits—again just as Britain has done in India.

SO we are not going to treat the Philippines in such a way as to make unnecessary the keeping of a large military force in the islands but rather in a way to make necessary the keeping of such a force, a force to hold the people submissive while the fruits of their labor are stripped from them, and for this purpose Spain kept an army in the islands of little less than twenty thousand men. It is estimated that we will have to maintain quite as large an army with which it is hoped, indeed, we may keep the people more submissive and amenable to exploitation than Spain ever did. And with exploitation carried on upon more systematic and less wasteful lines it is very possible that the exploitation can be made to yield more than at any time under Spanish rule and still be less oppressive so that it is not improbable that under our rule the people would become more amenable to exploitation.

Now the profits of this exploitation would be private, the costs of keeping the people submissive under it, that is the cost of maintaining an army of 20,000 men in the islands to say nothing of a fleet of gunboats in the island waters, would fall upon the government. But it is confidently asserted that these costs would not fall upon the home government, that is the Washington Treasury and be paid by the people of the United States for the benefit of a few exploiters but would be placed upon the backs of



the Philippine people. And so it is said the annexation of the Philippines for the benefit of a few in the United States will not put burdens upon the many. We fancy the interest on the \$20,000,000 paid for the possession of the Philippines will also be made a charge against the revenues of those islands.

But the shifting of these burdens upon the Philippines is not going to be any easy matter. In the first place, to keep an army of 20,000 men in the Philippines will cost, with the incident expenses of fortification, etc., probably no less than a thousand dollars a man [our present army and at home costs as much] or \$20,000,000. And on top of this must be added the costs of the civil administration, or probably \$5,000,000 more at the very least. So here we have, without taking any account of the cost of the navy that must be maintained in the Philippine waters or interest on our \$20,000,000 of purchase money, a burden of \$25,000,000 to be put on Philippine backs. And how is it to be done? There seems to be an impression that a moderate customs tariff on imports would suffice. But the imports into the Philippines only amount to about \$11,000,000 a year. Are we then to put duties on imports of about 250 per cent.? Not for a moment can we think of it, for such duties would be prohibitive and defeat their own purpose, to wit, the raising of revenues. So to put these burdens upon the Philippines we would have to resort to the grievously oppressive taxes of the Spanish. True, it is said that under our rule and exploitation exports to the islands would greatly increase and so customs revenues. But this dream of an enormous export trade to the eastern peoples who can produce cheaper than the western peoples is an idle one. British India, after a most energetic exploitation for years, only imports about \$220,000,000 worth of merchandise a year. Such are the imports to meet the demands of a population of 250,000,000, and so it can be readily seen that the imports for the ten million people of the Philippines of \$11,000,000 worth of goods or so a year are proportionately greater than the imports of India.

But of course we will prove more able exploiters, more successful builders and openers of foreign markets than the British.

THE question of the support of an army in the Philippines leads us up to the broader question of army increase. The demand is that our regular army be increased from a peace footing of 25,000 to 100,000 men, this large increase being required, it is stated, because of our new territorial acquisitions. We would here remark that such increase is only required if it be our purpose to rule our new acquisitions without the consent of the people thereof and with a view to their despoilment. Then we will need large military force to keep them submissive, to constrain them to recognize our sovereignty when such sovereignty is abused.

It is said, however, that the costs of such increase in our army will be put upon the islands in which such forces are stationed, and that consequently such increase will not fall as a burden upon our people. But this is a very mistaken view. Even granting that the costs of such increase will be shifted the burden will not be, not wholly. To enlist 75,000 more men in the ranks of our army is to deplete the productive force of our nation, deplete it to the value of the labor of 75,000 men. And the labor of each man in the United States has an annual average value of something over \$500, and if we take away 75,000 men for the army we take the value of their labor or no less than \$37,500,000 a year away from the country. But in fact it is worse than this, for such increase in our army will of necessity mean an increase of military works, in the manufacture of implements of war and the labor employed in such work will be labor employed not productively, not in raising food or making things the use of which will lead to greater production of wealth, but in an economic sense wastefully. True it is that there are now thousands of men out of work, that the productive force

of the country is now being wasted from such cause and wasted just as much as if such men were enlisted in the army, and so kept out of productive pursuits. But such idleness ought not to be, and to say that because of such idleness a nation can increase its army without loss of productive force is as absurd as to say that the nation, because of such idleness, would be made no poorer by the killing of 75,000 of its citizens, or rather the killing of 150,000, for the enlisting of an army of 75,000 men means the turning of 75,000 more men into unproductive pursuits in catering to the military necessities of such army.

AND now a word as to the cost of such increase in our army that it is said will be thrown on our new possessions. The cost of our army of 25,000 men on a peace footing and aside from the coast fortifications was about \$25,000,000 a year, or a thousand dollars a man. The expenditures of the War Department were double this, but from twelve to fifteen millions of such annual expenditures were for improvements of rivers and harbors and about twelve millions more for fortifications and ordnance. But as the army is increased the natural tendency is for the costs, proportionately to the increased numbers, to decrease. The costs of troops maintained in foreign service will however be greater than the cost of troops maintained at home and the expenditures necessary for a proper fortification of our new possessions will inevitably be large.

So taking all things into consideration, it is probable that an increase of our army by 75,000 would lead to an increase of the expenditures of the War Department of \$1,500 a man, or over \$100,000,000, a hefty burden to put on our island possessions, already impoverished by the ravages of war. And then there will be increased naval expenditures necessitated wholly on account of our far off possessions in the Orient.

Our conclusion is that much of the burden of such increase in our military establishment would fall upon our own people. The escape from such burden is the avoidance of the necessity for such military increase and this we can readily escape if we simply make up our minds to establish no government anywhere, no more in the Philippines or in Puerto Rico than Cuba, without the consent of the governed. With Senator Mason, of Illinois, we can say "we ought not to attempt to subject a people without their consent. It looks as though the destiny of Cuba and Puerto Rico has been settled. The Philippine question is the open one. I think Cuba will eventually seek annexation, but if she comes to us I want her to come out of love for our institutions and not because she is afraid of our guns. I want her to come to us through affection and not through fear."

WE are not finding fault with our Peace Commissioners or with the Administration for taking the Philippines. On the contrary we would have been disposed to find fault if they had handed those islands back into the grasp of Spain. What we do protest against is the too evident purpose to treat those islands as conquered provinces, to govern in a way that will entail the employment of military force. And when the treaty comes before the Senate for ratification there will doubtless be protests on this score. But such protests can hardly affect action on the treaty for that treaty does not bind us to any form of government in the Philippines but presumably leaves us free to do as we like, govern with the consent of the inhabitants or without, govern by the iron hand or by love. And though there may be some who will object to the treaty on the ground that the islands are enough of a burden in themselves without paying \$20,000,000 for them we are not inclined to the belief that such Senators will continue their opposition or that it will be strong enough to reject the treaty on this ground or rather amend it in this particular. To do so, assuming that Spain would submit and accept the treaty of peace thus amended because of her helplessness would be to put ourselves in our own eyes as well as the world in the light of a bully.



THOUGH we have promised to put all countries on an equal footing in the Philippine trade and give our own goods no preference in the Philippine markets the purpose of the administration seems to be to treat Puerto Rico upon a different basis, include the island in our tariff system, give a preference to the products of that island in our own markets and hold a preference for our own products in the markets of that island. For our part we would be glad to see Cuba put upon the same basis, indeed to have an absolute freedom of trade established through a customs union with all the countries to the south of us, a customs union which would give a free market to our products in the countries to the south of us and a preference over European goods and a free market in the United States for the products of the countries to the south of us. The increased exchange of products that would follow such freedom of trade would be mutually advantageous. As purchasers as well as sellers would we benefit and so would the people to the south of us for they would buy from nearest markets sell to nearest which in the natural order of things, and because of the savings of transportation charges, must be the most economical markets. And in such a union we have no desire to include the Philippines for to do so would be to encourage the exchange of goods over great distances when the same products can be obtained by exchange of goods over much shorter distances. Besides, it would be a wrong to force the people of this continent to compete with the people of the Orient, of the Philippines, who have no natural advantage over the peoples to the south of us in the production of sugar, but have an advantage in cost of production because of cheaper labor. Of course buying from such people we might get cheaper sugar. But what would be the cost? Curtailed markets for Cuban and Puerto Rican and other sugar, impoverishment in the countries to the south of us, lessened markets for our goods near at home and goods which could find no outlet in the Philippines, for men's purchases are limited by their receipts, and so a glut of goods at home, depressed prices, diminished wages. To buy the products of cheap labor is then simply to degrade our own labor. So it is to our advantage to buy tropical products in the nearest markets where natural conditions are such as to afford great economy of production. With such markets it is to our interest to encourage trade by imposing tariff duties on the products of more distant countries, as the Philippines, that have no natural advantages but which, because of the cheapness of their labor, might take the markets belonging by nature to the peoples immediately to the south of us.

OF COURSE, bringing Puerto Rico into our tariff system and extending that system to Cuba so as to give the sugar of those islands free access into our markets, would seriously impair our revenues, indeed cut off revenues of \$50,000,000 a year and practically destroy the sugar beet growing industry of the United States now in an incipient stage, for the great economy of sugar production in Cuba and Puerto Rico would give the planters of those islands a great advantage. But while there came loss to our sugar producers the prosperity of the aforementioned islands would be restored and they would make greatly enlarged markets for our produce, not only manufactured goods but agricultural produce, so that the demand for labor in the United States would be increased. And the cutting off of \$50,000,000 of sugar revenues would be a good thing, for this sugar tax is a tax on the consumption of sugar, falls upon poor as heavily as upon rich, is indeed a per capita tax and one of the most inequitable of our taxes. Its removal would be felt by every purchaser of sugar to the extent of a cheapening of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents a pound. The void made in national revenues by such cutting off of sugar tax could, if necessary, be met by much more equitable and less objectionable taxes.

Needless to say such extension of our tariff system to Puerto Rico and Cuba would be a repudiation of the "open door" prin-

ciple so far as this continent is concerned and England would probably be greatly displeased, but as Mr. Dingley points out there is no observance of this principle by Great Britain herself on this continent she enjoying a preference in Canadian markets into which her goods are admitted at 25 per cent. less duties than goods from the United States. True this is the result of Canadian not English legislation but Britain is the recipient of the advantage.

OUR estimation of one Richmond Pearson Hobson has been raised one peg higher. It appears that the hero of the Merrimac has been offered and refused an offer of \$50,000 by a New York lecture bureau for a series of lectures, a refusal which he thus explains:

"It would be idle for me to say that I did not consider the proposition carefully. I did. My people are all in moderate circumstances, but my reflections led me to this conclusion:

"Before the sinking of the Merrimac my lectures would have been worth probably not more than 50 cents; the sinking of the Merrimac seems to have made them worth \$50,000. The work which so suddenly raised my stock in literary trade was done in simple execution of my duty as an officer in the American navy.

"I did not feel that I had a right to use the performance of that duty for my financial betterment. I therefore declined the offer of the \$50,000."

By the side of this the course of a would-be statesman and declared people's champion who did not hesitate to trade on the notoriety gained in a political campaign does not show in a favorable light. But all credit to Hobson and no invidious comparisons.

ELSEWHERE will be found a remarkable article on "The Rights of Labor" by Ex-Governor Davis H. Waite of Colorado. It presents the labor question in a new and novel but, no true hearted and fair minded man will doubt after reading the article, in a truer and higher light. It clears away the film of dust that has been gathering for generations to obscure our vision of right and wrong until the path to the settlement of this question stands out with a brightness almost startling to those who, wishing well to their fellow men, have groped over paths of darkness and despair and awake to wonder how it is they have not seen the straight paths, why they have groped over the crooked for so long.

Mr. Waite was Governor of Colorado at the time of the Cripple Creek labor troubles of which he speaks.

#### BUREAUCRATIC VIEWS ON CURRENCY AND BANKING.

AT THIS time of the year, just prior to the assembling of Congress, the public is annually treated to a multiplicity of departmental and bureau reports, or at least so much of them as a newspaperdom fearing to bore the public with a knowledge of the doings of their own government or of the advice of their servants that so greatly concerns them, may deem it good policy to give publicity to. For of course the newspaper catering to the public must give preference in its columns to matter of the kind that is looked for and read with greatest avidity. And so, feeling the newspaper public to be a sensation loving one, the newspapers pare down the department and bureau reports to narrowest limits, while giving much space to news of the blood and thunder kind, some of it of real public concern, much of it of little moment and in which the public takes only a passing interest, incited by the clever manner in which items are written up, so as to appeal to the morbid curiosity.

Again many is the newspaper that, subsidized by the moneyed cliques, is bound to cater to their interests and not the interests of the public and when it is to the interest of those cliques, using the strong arm of government, using the legis-



lature, using the executive to promote their own interests, to hide from the public the doings of their own servants, then such newspapers can be depended upon not to give publicity to such doings. And so all in all the public is not kept very well acquainted by newspaperdom with the doings and suggestions of their public servants, with Congress or the departmental chiefs as much as such doings may concern them, and concern their material welfare and pocket books, the most sensitive nerve, some would have us believe, of the American citizen.

But upon the venality of the press and the love of the sensational on the part of the newspaper reading public and so assiduously cultivated, it is not our purpose to comment at this time. Not setting ourselves up as a puritanical censor we purpose not to scold the press for its venality or the public for its love of the sensational and demand for sensational reading to the exclusion of other reading of greater moment and general concern. All that we care to say is that the present is the period of departmental reports, that these reports made for the information of Congress and containing advice and suggestions to that body, often of great public concern, are given out in advance of the meeting of the national legislature in order that they may not be engulfed in the greater interest attaching to the President's message, the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury and other events centering around the opening days of Congress and so escape public attention, be crowded out of the public prints. Indeed that they may not be crowded out, care is taken to give out the reports on different days. Thus it is designed that the public be given ample opportunity to digest the reports and suggestions of their public servants, but, for the reason that the press ordinarily gives little prominence or space to such reports, without much avail.

#### Report of the Director of the Mint.

This much said by way of general complaint, we turn to two Departmental, or rather Bureau reports, one of the Director of the Mint, one of the Comptroller of the Currency, that invite some comment. And first to the report of Mr. Roberts, Director of the Mint, that is not altogether pleasing to the gold monometallists, indeed is so displeasing to some of them that it has excited their ire. This is all because Mr. Roberts makes a very fair presentation of the bimetallic case, and, when resting on a broad international basis, declares it to be incontestable. Thus, though declaring it to be a theoretical rather than a practical question, Mr. Roberts admits the basic contentions of bimetallics and unequivocally denies the sundry and absurd contentions of the gold men that the coinage demand for gold and silver has no effect upon their value. True, Mr. Roberts does not see that bimetallicism would bring to us any great advantages, and further asserts that the great increase in gold production is settling the question, quieting the fears many had of a continued appreciation of gold if the demand for gold was not lessened by letting the demand for money fall again upon silver as well as upon gold and thus taking the question outside of practical politics, but he ridicules those who declare it to be impossible to maintain gold and silver at a ratio fixed by law, and therefore impossible to establish and preserve a bimetallic monetary system. And in view of the past history of the world well may Mr. Roberts treat the assertions of the gold men in this regard as absurd.

Thus says Mr. Roberts:

"The theory that a fixed ratio between gold and silver could be maintained by an international agreement is based on the assumption, scarcely to be contested, that the monetary use of these metals is a factor in their value. If this is true the concerted exclusion of either one from the mints of all the more important countries of the world would have an influence to depreciate its value. If, then, such an agreement should be reached between such nations to coin only at a certain ratio, and one metal should rise even slightly above that ratio, it would pass out of monetary use entirely. The cessation of that demand upon the dearer metal, the redoubling of it upon the cheaper would tend to bring them together again.

"A single nation, acting alone, is certain to lose the dearer metal entirely, and retain only the cheaper as its standard. Thus, for any country, under present conditions to open its mints to the unrestricted coinage of both gold and silver at 16 to 1, or any thereabout ratio, would be for it to lose what gold it possessed, because that metal would surely go where it was rated higher. If, however, there was no country in the world where it was legally rated higher, there would be no place to which it might go for monetary use."

"These," continues Mr. Roberts "are the considerations which have led many scientific students of finance and sagacious publicists to favor open mints to both metals under an international agreement" and then he goes on to speak of the efforts of the Wolcott Bimetallic Commission brought to an end because of the refusal of the Indian Government to join the movement, though he considers the real cause for the failure of the commission to accomplish anything to have been "a growing feeling that the rapidly increasing product of gold has radically changed the situation from what it was ten years ago, when the gold product seemed to be at a standstill or declining," and was less than half what it is to day and that this increasing production had "changed to indifference or opposition the attitude of many who then feared an appreciating standard." And then he goes on to tell of the great increase in gold production that ought, in his judgment, to put an end to any continued appreciation of gold actual or feared and therefore the agitation for bimetallicism.

But during these last ten years of increasing gold production the demands for gold for coinage purposes have greatly increased not only from natural causes, a growing population and expanding trade but because of changes in the fiscal systems of great nations. Thus Austria-Hungary, Russia and Japan have adopted the gold standard and in preparation for placing themselves on a gold basis have been large purchasers of gold. And with their continued demands for money must come a demand for gold for coinage at their mints. Demands formerly met by supplies of paper as in Austria-Hungary and Russia, by coinage of silver in Japan now fall upon gold. So it is that despite the great increase in the gold supply during the last decade gold prices have been generally falling, the purchasing power of gold has been increasing. In other words gold has been appreciating. And the explanation is that as greatly as the supply has been increased it has fallen short of the increased demand, a demand greatly increased for reasons already given. And now there are on foot plans for placing British India on a gold basis, thereby increasing the demands for gold and so causing it to further appreciate.

So despite the increased production of gold fears of a further appreciation of gold to the loss of debtors, shrinkage of profits and detriment of industry are not quelled but harbored as ever for steps have been taken and are threatened such as have caused and must cause a greatly increased demand for gold and so the fears of continued appreciation of gold are well grounded.

In further discussing the monetary situation Mr. Roberts asserts with great assurance that "the values of all goods that enter into the common consumption of mankind are international, and cannot be affected by monetary legislation," which latter statement is in direct conflict with a former to the effect that it is scarcely to be contested that the monetary use of gold and silver is a factor in their value. For surely if the monetary use of gold is a factor in its value international gold values or prices of commodities measured in gold can surely be affected by legislation, for by legislation the monetary demand for gold is made and can be unmade and as the value of gold changes so must the values of those things measured in gold change inversely. True, Mr. Roberts may here have reference to legislation by one nation only for he adds: "Legislation can alter the value of a local currency, but the owner of goods of world-wide demand simply raises or lowers his price to correspond with the changed value of money." But surely if the monetary use of gold is a factor in its value any nation that now uses it and may, by legislation, discontinue such monetary use, thereby decreasing the demand



for gold, can, to the extent of such decrease in demand, lessen the value of gold and so affect world-wide prices. And thus it is that legislation by one state may not only alter the value of local currency but the currency of the world. A state that has been using silver or paper and substitutes gold for what it has been using thereby increasing the demand for gold may cause gold to advance and prices to fall all over the gold using world. And inversely may a state that has been using gold cause a fall in the value of gold itself and appreciation of gold values by discontinuing such use.

But Mr. Roberts continues: "Goods in every country are attached to the world's standard, whether the money is or not. If the money is not, then the wage earners of that country receive their pay on one basis and buy the necessities of life on another." He should have said buy what they buy from gold using countries on another basis than that on which they receive their wages for that which they buy from one another, the products of their own country, and which constitute in large part the necessities of life, they buy on the same basis. Consequently in such countries labor buys at home, buys the products of home labor, for it can only buy the products of foreign countries on a different and higher basis than that on which it sells its labor. Of course the selling of the products of such countries to gold using countries is greatly encouraged and so exports are stimulated. Upon this Mr. Roberts says:

"Certain narrow objections and sophistical doctrines becomes familiar. Some assert that the depreciation of a country's money has a good effect by stimulating its exports. The shipper sells his products abroad for gold, converts the gold into currency of his own country, and as the latter declines in value of course he gets more of it. The net gain depends upon his opportunity to work this depreciated currency off on somebody else at its old value. In some countries the exporters claim to have succeeded in doing this, and they are pleased, and pronounce it a good thing."

In this there are some truths, but it is not a fair statement. It is not depreciation of the currency of Mexico and India and other silver-using countries that has so stimulated exports from those countries, but appreciation of the money of the countries to which they sell for, as a matter of fact, their currencies have not depreciated at all as measured by purchasing power, indeed the currency of India has appreciated, not indeed to the extent that money has appreciated in gold-using countries, not to anything like the extent, but still appreciated to the great detriment of the producing classes of that country. Of course the shipper in the silver and paper-using countries and selling his products abroad for gold converts the gold into currency of his own country, and as the former appreciates the more does he get of the latter, which latter he can work off at its old value upon everyone in his own country, for everyone is glad to take it, its purchasing power having in no way declined, and it being worth as much to the recipients as ever, except when they go to purchase imported goods. So have exporters from such countries been able to sell for reduced prices in gold countries and so extend their markets just as gold has appreciated as measured in their currencies. And this appreciation of money in gold-using countries and relative stability in silver has worked this way. In gold-using countries the share of the money lender and landlord in wealth produced, share fixed in terms of money has increased, the share of the employer and wage-earner been diminished; in silver using the share of the creditor classes has not been increased, the share of the working classes been undiminished.

#### Report of the Comptroller of the Currency.

From the report of the Director of the Mint we turn to that of the Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. Charles G. Dawes, successor to the dependable Eckels who never gave the banking interests cause to regret his appointment. But not so with Mr. Dawes. In his first report he sets aside the recommendations of his predecessor, indeed condemns them, and actually has the

audacity to oppose the plans that have been brought forward for the substitution of bank notes for our national currency, plans advanced not only by Eckels and Carlisle and Cleveland, by a Democratic administration in the footsteps of which the present Republican was pledged by pre-election promises to follow, but by his superiors, Secretary Gage and President McKinley. But perhaps these latter gentlemen have changed their views since they last communicated to an unheeding Congress upon the subject.

However this may be, Mr. Dawes sets his foot against granting to the banks extensive currency privileges. He does not admit that any currency reforms are desirable, does not admit that the greenbacks and Treasury notes are a source of danger to the commercial community and a burden to the government, does not admit that sound finance demands the retirement of these notes as his predecessor asserted but declares that "if the present conditions of governmental currency demand reforms, to secure which will entail cost, it is better for the government, as the representative of the people, . . . to pay an ascertained and exact cost direct than to endeavor to evade it by granting extensive currency privileges to banks which, of necessity, must reimburse themselves from the community and the depositor class for any cost they incur in assuming the burden of gold redemption or maintaining the credit of their notes."

In short, if the greenbacks must be retired it is better for the government to pay the costs of funding them—which funding would amount to an annual payment of \$15,000,000 or thereabouts to the holders for an agreement on their part not to present their notes for redemption in gold to the inconvenience of the government, that is, not until after the lapse of a certain number of years and the bonds into which such notes were funded should fall due—than to induce the banks to hold such greenbacks by giving them the power to issue their own notes to say double the amount so held, and tax the people, in the shape of interest, for the use of such notes. So argues Mr. Dawes. It is cheaper to directly tax the people to retire the greenbacks than to get the banks to retire them by a grant of the power to tax the people through the issue of their own notes. The direct tax would be less than the indirect and many times less burdensome. And in this Mr. Dawes is quite right.

He further brings his batteries to bear on the proposition for the issue of bank notes unsecured by pledge of bonds, but given a first lien upon the commercial assets of the banks. Mr. Dawes rightly asserts that this is protecting note holders at the expense of depositors, aye more, that it is diverting assets held for the security of depositors to other use. The banks receive deposits of cash and checks calling for cash on other banks. Of course they do not lock such deposits up in their vaults and hold them until called for. If they did, they could make no profit, unless, like the old Bank of Amsterdam, they made a charge for receiving and holding deposits and permitting transfers on their books. What they do is to loan out a good part of the moneys so deposited with them and lock up the notes they receive in return in their vaults. Not locking up the cash deposited with them, but loaning it out, they should lock up the notes, the commercial paper, which they receive for the money they loan and which paper is the security which depositors have. And now it is proposed to give the holder of bank notes a first claim upon such commercial paper, purchased with depositors' money and morally belonging to the depositors, nominally to the bank. And all of this argues Mr. Dawes, is wrong, very wrong.

In the process of thus taking deposits of money and loaning out the moneys so received, the banks create other deposits. In short, though the banks keep only one kind of deposit account they have really two kinds of deposits, for some deposits they receive, others they create. In brief the banks exchange credits on their books for the credits of individuals, give the right to demand money of them at once in return for rights given to



them of demanding money of sundry individuals and corporations at later periods. This is what is known as discounting. But while the banks in discounting paper give the right to demand money this right is but seldom availed of. The first step is for the bank to pass the proceeds of a discounted note—that is the face of the note less interest calculated to due day and the time the bank must stand out of the money if the money is withdrawn—to the credit of its customer upon its books. Then such customer may draw upon such credit, draw it all out if he wants to. But he is not expected to draw it all out. If he does he will be prone to meet with a refusal from the bank the next time he asks for a discount. So he finds it wise to keep a balance with the bank. Besides, in availing of his discount the ordinary customer finds it more convenient to draw checks against such deposit and send out such checks in payment of his bills than to draw out cash and go round among his creditors and pay them in cash. It is a saving of time to mail them checks.

And when such creditors get such checks what do they do? Supposing they keep their accounts in the same bank they will deposit such checks not draw them. And they deposit them for one of two purposes: Either to draw against in settlement of their bills or to accumulate a fund with which to pay a note coming due at the bank. And ultimately this, the accumulation of a fund in the bank for the paying of debt to the bank is the end of credits granted by the bank, for by the act of granting a credit a debt to the bank is created.

Thus are credits issued by the banks and extinguished. It is on the assumption that the credits issued will be offset daily by the credits to be extinguished that the banks are run. And it is because of this creation and extinguishing of credits without the use of cash that the banks find it possible to issue credits to several times, four or five times, the amount of cash they hold. Of course if a general demand is made upon them for payment of such credits in cash they cannot respond and so in times of panic they are driven to suspension, often covered up by the issue of Clearing House Certificates. And always will the banks be subject to danger while they undertake the impossible in the expectation that they will not be called upon to fulfill their promises, while they continue to treat deposits that they create just like deposits they receive. When they learn to treat the different kinds of deposits separately, to keep cash deposits as cash deposits payable in cash, credit deposits as deposits payable only in bank credits, or in the language of the financial centers, "through the Clearing House"—and there ought to be a national Clearing House, which means nationalization of the banks—then in times of trouble, and not until then, will the banks be able to extend accommodation and cease to be panic breeders.

But we are being drawn away from the point. What we wish to here emphasize is what our Comptroller of the Currency emphasizes and that is that the commercial assets of the banks of right ought to be held for the security of all the depositors, that to make the noteholders preferred creditors is to take from the depositors their equitable right to such assets. We would further point out that when the banks, with the money of depositors, buy government bonds and issue notes upon the security of such bonds, the difference is only in name, that in such process the note holders are secured at the expense of the depositors. But Mr. Dawes does not seem to see that this is a difference without a distinction and he recommends that the existing bank note system, based upon deposit of government bonds be preserved. For the protection of depositors it should be abolished and no other bank note system substituted, but the issue of notes placed entirely in the hands of the National government, for until this is done the bank depositors will be deprived of a security that is rightly theirs.

Yet this recommendation of Mr. Dawes, though he couples it with a suggestion that in times of stress the banks be author-

ized to issue uncovered notes, much as they now issue Clearing House Certificates, but subject to a tax so heavy as to be prohibitive in normal times and so large as to provide a general fund sufficient to secure the note holders from loss resulting from the insolvency of any one bank, must be most unsavory to the moneyed cliques working for the substitution of a bank currency in place of our national currency. Mr. Dawes' recommendations do not point in such direction. Rather has he thrown his weight against such change.

So, like Mr. Roberts, does he excite the ire of the monopoly organs of Wall street. The moneyed cliques are meeting with an overturning of their arguments and finding resistance to their plans in most unexpected quarters. And as this is a time to rejoice over little gleams of hope we rejoice. Next we fancy the minions of the moneyed cliques asking if they are to be stabbed in the house of their friends. And then, what will President McKinley do? Bow before them as he did when he repudiated the Wolcott Commission, cut the foundation from beneath it and brought its negotiations to naught, or turn upon those who elected him, who depend upon him to serve the moneyed oligarchy? We fancy he will bow, bow in humility if not in shame. And meanwhile the lament of the moneyed cliques that the dependable Eckles and Preston have given place to such men as Dawes and Roberts have shown themselves to be, good gold men indeed, but not servile reflectors of the wishes of the moneyed oligarchy.

FOR THE AMERICAN.

### THE RIGHTS OF LABOR.

BY DAVIS H. WAITE,  
(Ex-Governor of Colorado.)

**H**AVE employers the right, regardless of the hours of labor per day or the rate of wages which prevail by law, custom or general consent, to make a contract for the rendition of service by an employee, at either an increased number of hours per day or less wages?

This question strikes at the very root of all labor difficulties. It has been little discussed and it is not generally understood. Powderly's "Thirty Years of Labor," issued in 1889, the best and most comprehensive work on labor which up to that time had been published, and Swinton's "Striking for Life," another excellent and advanced work on labor, issued in 1894, make no allusion to the right involved in the question above stated, nor does any platform of principles laid down by any labor organization allude to the matter, except the right is claimed to make eight hours a legal day's work.

An Industrial Congress assembled at Rochester, N. Y., April 14, 1874, and with a wonderful prescience of the actual issues of the day, declared among other reforms, for "the adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing or building pursuits," "the substitution of arbitration for strikes," "the prohibition of the importation of all servile races," "the reduction of hours of labor to eight per day" and "a national legal tender currency based upon the faith and resources of the nation, issued directly to the people without the intervention of any system of banking corporations," but nowhere in the declaration of principles is the right of an employer challenged to morally or legally make such a contract for the rendition of service, as employer and employee shall agree upon. Contracts of this kind are not declared or shown to be in any way different from other contracts conceded to be good in law and equity.

If our preliminary question is to be answered affirmatively, Carnegie and Frick were right, after arbitrarily reducing the wages of their workmen at different times without their consent, in claiming that "there was nothing to arbitrate;" Mr. Pullman

was correct under the same circumstances in his claim that "there was nothing to arbitrate" and there is no remedy for the injustice and tyranny of competition except the voluntary consent of arbitrary power to surrender its rights for the public good.

The right of an employer, regardless of the hours of labor per day or rate of wages which prevail by law, custom or general consent, to make a contract with an employee for the rendition of service at either an increased number of hours per day or less wages, as the parties may agree upon is denied upon the following principles:

#### I. Liberty.

"Natural liberty consists in the power of acting as one thinks fit without any restraint or control unless by the law of nature."—*Blackstone*.

"Political or Civil Liberty is the power of doing whatever the law permits:—that liberty of a member of society which is no other than natural liberty so far restrained by human laws as is necessary for the general advantage of the public."—*Blackstone*.

"Moral Liberty or 'Natural Liberty' is the right which nature gives to all mankind of disposing of their persons or property after the manner they judge most consonant to their happiness, on condition of their acting within the limits of the law of nature, and that they do not in any way abuse it to the pre-judice of any other man."—*Burlamagui*.

*Anderson's Law Dictionary*, 619.

#### II. Rights.

"A right in any valuable sense can only be that which the law secures to its possessor, by requiring others to respect it and abstain from its violation. Rights then are the offspring of law; they are born of legal restraints. 'Civil Liberty' is the condition in which rights are established and protected by means of such limitations and restraints upon the action of individual members of the political society as are needed to prevent what would be injurious to other individuals or prejudicial to the general welfare."—*Anderson's Law Dictionary*, 620.

"Every member of a political community must necessarily part with some of his rights, which as an individual not affected by his relation to others, he might have retained. Such concessions make up the consideration he gives for the obligation of the body politic to protect him in life, liberty and property."—*Anderson's Law Dictionary*, 620.

"The laborer has a right to employment, which the state should recognize."—*Bismarck*, May, 1894.

#### III. Health.

"All sanitary cordons and preventive regulations come under the right of preventing more serious injuries by stifling the sources of evil."

"The preservation of the public health is an absolute right of personal security and is one of the chief purposes of local government."—*Anderson's Law Dictionary*, 506.

Factory laws prescribing conditions of light and ventilation with regard to health of employees, and also child-labor laws and laws limiting the hours of labor depend upon the above legal principles.

#### IV. Personal and General Welfare.

"In the contest for the possession of a child, the welfare of the child is the controlling consideration. The father will be given the custody of it, unless he is shown to be incompetent or unfit for that office, or unless the welfare of the child demands a different disposition."—*Anderson's Law Dictionary*, 175.

So in all cases where the principle is applicable, the "general welfare" is equally imperative.

#### V. Labor.

"Eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all laborers, workmen and mechanics who may be employed by, or on behalf of the United States."—*U. S. Statute*.

The duties of the U. S. Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor are prescribed as follows:

"He shall collect information upon the subject of labor, its relation to capital, the hours of labor and the earnings of laboring men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual and moral prosperity."

"Labor is property—as such it merits protection. The right to make it available is next in importance to the rights of life and liberty. It lies to a large extent at the foundation of most forms of property and of all solid individual and national prosperity."—*16 Wallace (U. S. Reps.), 127, Swayne J.*

#### VI. Arbitration.

"Whenever the parties injuring and injured, submit all matters in dispute concerning any personal chattel or personal wrong (excepting crimes and misdemeanors) to the judgment of two or more arbitrators who are to decide the controversy, every presumption of the law is in favor of such arbitration and all irregularities may be corrected."

*Anderson's Law Dictionary*, 72.

#### VII. Axioms.

The great body of the American people is composed of workmen, who may be subdivided into producers and laborers. There can be no possible prosperity for the American people, and no "promotion of the general welfare," until as a rule,

*First*, The market prices of staple products shall pay producers a profit on the cost of production, and

*Second*, Until the wages of labor pay the laborer more than a bare subsistence, lift him out of the condition of abject poverty, and enable him to attempt at least "the pursuit of happiness."

#### Hours of Labor.

"Four hours of work is enough to earn all the comforts and luxuries of life."—*Ben. Franklin*.

Sidney Webb, an English author, says: "At present the average age at death among the nobility, gentry and professional classes in England and Wales is 55 years, but among the artizan classes it only amounts to 29 years. As compared with the gentry the workers lose 50 per cent. of their life time and 22 per cent. of their children."

Thomas Brassey, a member of the British Parliament in his book "Work and Wages" says: "In Russia the peasantry begin to work in summer at 2 A. M., working for themselves, and finish at 9 P. M., with intermittent periods of rest equal to three hours, leaving 16 to 17 hours work per day."

"From abject poverty the Russian women are compelled to share unceasingly in the out-door labor of the men. The infant mortality in Russia is appalling."

In the United States, the usual hours of labor are ten hours per day, in Great Britain ten to twelve, in Germany, France and the Continent generally the hours of labor are longer than in Great Britain.

What is the effect?

Says Mr. Brassey: "The number of males at the age of five years in proportion to the total number of the population is 20¾ per cent. less in Russia than in Great Britain, France or Belgium. The short duration of the average life in Russia is equally lamentable. In the N. W. Provinces the average limit of life is only between 22 and 27 years. In the Volga Basin and S. E. Provinces it is 20 years; in Viatka, Perm and Ozenburg it is only 15 years! In Great Britain the number of men and women between 50 and 60 out of 10,000 people averages 548, in Belgium 515, in Russia 265!

"Where the average work day is longest the average life time is shortest, and conversely where the average work day is shortest the average life time is longest."

No one can dispute the right of any Legislature, municipal, state or national, to fix the hours of labor within the limits of those periods, which experience has demonstrated both shorten and destroy the lives and health of the people. The right of



private contract gives way to the superior claims of the "general welfare."

In a recent article Count Tolstoi says that no actual famine has prevailed in Russia for the past twenty years, but the poverty of the people has been so abject as to deprive them of nutritious food and compel them to such severe continuous labor to earn a bare subsistence that the spirit of the people and their physical ability either to make their labor profitable or to resist disease has been destroyed.

Manifestly the Government of Russia has become destructive of the ends for which all governments are created and should be swept out of existence.

#### Rate of Wages.

By the mistake of conceding to employer and employee the right to contract for an increase in the hours of labor or a decrease in wages without regard to the prevailing rates, and that such contract is just and can neither lawfully or constitutionally be interfered with, the mining business in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, the three great northern coal fields of the United States east of the Mississippi, has been reduced by regular gradations within the last thirty years from an honorable labor-sustaining occupation, when such wages were paid as enabled coal employees to live in comfort and educate themselves and their children, to a form of industrial slavery where wages barely sustain life, to the neglect of the health and morals of the employees as well as the neglect of the "general welfare."

In times past foreign immigrants, no matter how poor or ignorant, found employment on our public lands, prosperity and education in their improvement and were readily assimilated to the great mass of the American people. For the past thirty years manufacturers, mine-owners and capitalists have scoured the slums of Europe for paupers and crowded the steerages of ocean steamers with contract laborers for no other purpose except to increase the dividends of their businesses by reducing the wages of labor in the United States, not only to the direct injury of every laborer, but to the direct injury of the "general welfare," since the former power in the United States to assimilate unfit immigration to good citizenship has ceased. If these considerations are sufficient to warrant the American people in making such changes in the laws relating to foreign immigration as the "general welfare" demands—and who can doubt it?—what hinders the applying of the same principles of law and equity to the wages of labor since they have far more concern with "the promotion of the general welfare" than foreign immigration?

It is in accordance with the trend of human affairs that individual rights give way to the superior rights of the people. If Cromwell was justified in trampling upon "the divine right of kings" as represented by Charles I., or our forefathers in resisting the despotic claims of George III., or the people of the United States in abolishing slavery when it became a menace to the existence of the republic, then the public sentiment should awake to the fact that wherever greed oppresses labor, a power more dangerous than king or aristocrat is fast reducing the working people to industrial slavery, and by means as unjust and illegal as were ever practised by tyrants.

The labor fight of 1894 in Colorado involved a settlement of the very question under discussion, and the lesson should have great influence in the determination of the labor difficulties of 1898, but the facts have been persistently misrepresented by a servile and corrupt press, and are comparatively unknown to the public. The following is perhaps as condensed a statement as is possible of the labor issues settled in Colorado:

#### Labor Difficulties in Cripple Creek.

This gold mining district which began to be famous in 1892, became quite populous and important in 1893. Miners from all parts of Colorado where silver mining had become unremunerative, and people from many other states, had removed to Cripple

Creek district, some of them with their families and more or less property, but many young men, unmarried and day laborers. From the beginning of the camp and up to January, 1894, by general consent of mine-owners and miners, the hours of labor and the rate of wages in the district had been eight hours' shift and three dollars per day for common mining labor. Most of the miners were members of the four miners' unions in the district, and up to 1894 all were harmoniously developing the vast gold resources of Cripple Creek. But in December, 1893, a few mine-owners resident at Colorado Springs and not exceeding twenty-five in number, held a meeting and, without consulting a single miner in the district, resolved that the number of hours of labor should be increased from eight to nine per day, or that the three dollars per diem should be diminished in the same proportion. The Colorado Springs mine-owners undertook to run their mines in the Cripple Creek district on the new schedule of hours and wages, upon the theory that the employer has the right to contract with an employee for the rendition of service as the two parties might agree, and without regard to how such contract might affect the welfare of other individuals or the general welfare of the community in which the contract is to be enforced. The miners refused to accept this reduction of wages because:

1. It was a matter in which they believed they had a right to be consulted.
2. The mine owners who had made the reduction were only a small minority of their own class, and
3. The individual right of contract between employer and employee, in and of itself legal and proper enough as between the two contracting parties, was invalid because the contract injuriously affected the general welfare of thousands of miners in the district, who, without their consent were deprived arbitrarily and without remedy, of their rights and prosperity.

The Miners Unions therefore used all their influence and successfully, to prevent the miners from working upon the new schedule of rates and cautioned their members to confine their opposition to legal and peaceable methods. Some of the Colorado Springs mine owners closed down their mines, but the great majority of mines in Cripple Creek district all through the difficulties continued to be worked eight hour shifts at \$3 per day for common mining labor. The condition of affairs however became strained and some unsuccessful attempts at arbitration were made by private parties. The "Strong" mine was blown up with dynamite—the mine owners said by the miners—the miners said by some agent of the mine owners, to precipitate a crisis.

(Subsequently the matter got into the courts, and about twenty miners were indicted and tried for the offense by an unfriendly court and jury, and acquitted for lack of any testimony to convict. Only one member of the Miners Union was ever convicted of crime in relation to the Cripple Creek difficulties and he was sent to state's prison for seven years, but was pardoned out the first year of his imprisonment by Gov. McIntire, on the ground that by the record there was no evidence to convict him of the crime charged.)

The Governor of the state, in the latter part of May, 1894, made a secret trip to the district, consulted with the miners, counseled arbitration and was chosen by the four Miners Unions to act as arbitrator for the miners in any arbitration that might be made between the miners and the mine owners. Notice was given to the mine owners at Colorado Springs and a meeting called at Colorado College for the purpose of arbitration. A large number of representative mine owners were present at this meeting, and Mr. Hagerman, of Colorado Springs—a fair-minded business man and one of the most extensive mine owners in the Cripple Creek district was chosen arbitrator on the part of the mine owners. The arbitrators retired to a private room and in half an hour agreed upon the terms of an arbitration. But the mine owners at Colorado Springs, notwithstanding they had

appointed Mr. Hagerman their arbitrator and legally were bound by his decision, refused to abide by the arbitration.

Late on Saturday evening, June 3, 1894, as the Governor was about to leave Colorado Springs for Denver, Sheriff Bowers of El Paso County, came into the Governor's car and handed him a written communication to the effect that an insurrection prevailed in El Paso County which the sheriff of the county was unable to quell, and the sheriff demanded of the Governor such military assistance as was necessary to enable the sheriff to serve civil processes and criminal warrants, which service was prevented by armed miners.

Early the following Sunday morning at Denver, the Governor was called upon by President Jeffery, representing David J. Moffat and other mine-owners of the state interested in the Cripple Creek mining district, who requested another attempt at arbitration. They had become alarmed at the indications that the miners of the state generally were about to make common cause with their brethren in Cripple Creek and assist them in defending their homes against the threatening force of Colorado Springs. On Sunday, June 4, 1894, at 2 o'clock p. m., a private meeting was held at one of the rooms in the office of Wolcott & Vaile in the Equitable Building. Mr. Moffat and also Mr. Hagerman who had come from Colorado Springs, as arbitrators for the mine-owners and the Governor as arbitrator for the miners composed the Board of Arbitration. Messrs. Jeffery and Vaile were also present and counselled with by the arbitrators. After six hours earnest discussion, terms of settlement were agreed upon substantially as at the previous arbitration at Colorado Springs.—“Eight hours a day's shift—three dollars a day's pay for common mining work—mine-owners to make no discrimination against workmen, whether they belonged to Miners Unions or not and no amnesty for past offences.”

But again the Colorado Springs mine-owners rebelled against the arbitration and continued their unlawful efforts to raise a military force with the county funds aided by contributions from the mine-owners, openly avowing their intention to subdue what they called the “rebellious miners” by armed power.

The written application of Sheriff Bowers made out the precise case in which the Governors of all the states are obliged to grant the assistance demanded, and the Governor of Colorado ordered out five hundred of the National Guard to assist Sheriff Bowers to quell the insurrection he claimed to exist in El Paso County, and enable him to serve the civil process and criminal warrants, which service he claimed was resisted by armed miners.

The National Guard found no insurrection and no armed resistance, but met Sheriff Bowers near Cripple Creek and proffered all needed assistance to enable him to serve the civil process and criminal warrants in his hands, but Sheriff Bowers had in his possession no civil process or criminal warrants whatever against any miners of the district, and up to that time no miner had been indicted for any offence connected with the labor difficulties in the Cripple Creek district! From the beginning the Colorado Springs mine-owners had ignored any resort to the courts for relief from their alleged injuries.

The representations of Sheriff Bowers proved to be wholly false, and the National Guard was ordered to return to Denver, notwithstanding numerous telegrams to the Governor “to keep the troops in the district, now that they had been called out, TO PRESERVE THE PEACE;” but the Governor was of the opinion that the real object sought was to use the military to guard the property of the mine-owners, who were desirous to work their mines at longer hours and reduced wages in violation of the arbitration—and the Governor determined, that so long as he was Governor, not a musket or soldier of the state should be used for any such unlawful purpose.

The withdrawal of the state troops enraged yet more the mine-owners of Colorado Springs, and they applied themselves with renewed energy to the raising of an army, and did enlist

eleven hundred men, of which two companies were artillery, one cavalry and the remainder infantry, all fully armed and equipped by El Paso county—were called “Deputy Sheriffs” (!) and paid three dollars a day for military services—and these troops were marched out of Colorado Springs with the avowed determination to make war upon the miners of Cripple Creek. To prevent this illegal action, the Governor called out all the National Guard of the state and succeeded in getting five hundred of them between the Colorado Springs army and the miners, who to the number of about three hundred had armed and equipped themselves as well as they could, to resist this unlawful attack upon their families and their homes. Gen. Brooks, of the National Guard—a soldier and a patriot—ordered the miners to lay down their arms and they obeyed; he ordered the Colorado Springs armed mob to return to that city and disband, and they too obeyed orders, though eleven hundred to five hundred, and thus ended the Cripple Creek war, in which for the first time in the history of this government the Governor of any state called out the troops to sustain the rights of laboring men, as determined by a just and lawful arbitration. And ever since in the Cripple Creek mining district eight hours has been a day's work and three dollars a day's pay for common mining labor.

It is unnecessary to make any argument to prove the legality or justice of the policy pursued by the Governor of Colorado in 1894; it is sufficient to refer to Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 of the principles quoted near the beginning of this article.

#### Illinois Coal Difficulties 1897-98.

In the Virden, Illinois, coal difficulties there was a strike July, 1897, which in September of the same year was ended by an agreement between the operators and miners, and amended last January by a new agreement, but the Illinois coal operators were dissatisfied and refused to perform their part of the agreement. This agreement was an arbitration and was both just and legal. (See principles 5 and 6.) The coal miners offered again to submit their differences to the state Board of Arbitration, but the mine-owners “had nothing to arbitrate” and laid back on their reserved rights to make such a contract with other employees for the rendition of service as they could, without regard to any rate of wages whatever, and they commenced to import under private military protection, negro and ex-convict labor from Alabama to work at cut wages. They had previously fortified their mines with stockades and armed their workmen. All of these acts of the mine-owners are illegal. (See principles 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6.)

Governor Tanner of Illinois was entirely justifiable in his acts. His highest duty was to preserve the peace—not by compelling the “order” which “reigned at Warsaw”—not by sustaining armed tyranny in its invasion of private and public rights—but by the protection of the liberties of the citizen with due regard to the promotion of the general welfare.

Governor Tanner was right in repelling the “armed invasion” of the colored immigrants from Alabama, backed up as they were by armed detachments from the Pinkerton detectives, an illegal military organization, unknown to the Constitution or laws of the United States or the constitution or statutes of any state. In Pennsylvania an armed invasion of the state from without its borders, is treason against the commonwealth, and at common law in all the states, such an invasion is a high crime and misdemeanor.

The first duty of Governor Tanner was to protect the rights of the people. The rights of an individual or a corporation are not to be considered when they run counter to the general welfare.

In THE AMERICAN of Oct. 22, 1898 an editorial says: “If it is wrong to use the military, the force of the state, to overawe strikers, to deny them the right of meeting and the use of the public highways, to browbeat them into submission, it is equally as wrong to use such force to encompass the defeat of employers whose employees have gone on strike.”



That is not a fair statement, for under certain circumstances it may be proper to overawe either employers or strikers with military force\*—the fact that they are either miners or mine-owners is of no importance.

In the same number of *THE AMERICAN* on page 259 is the following: "That the state has the right, yes the duty to exert its force to protect the laborer against the aggressions of capital, to call a halt upon the moneyed interests when they use their power in a way to oppress the multitude is scarcely deniable." and again—"It is absurd to lay it down as a rule of just government that the state must stand by and take no part in quarrels between employer and employed, when such quarrels affect not only those directly concerned, but the welfare of the whole community."

These are the principles which determine the legality and the justice of all labor controversies, and they afford ample justification to Gov. Tanner.

[\* We quite agree with this and we would add that the use of the word *if* in the above quotation signifies that we do not hold it wrong for the state to put pressure on strikers or upon employers under certain conditions, and use force to oblige them to so comport themselves that the general welfare will not be injured. But surely it is wrong to put pressure on strikers if the same right to put pressure on employers is not accorded. The state has an undoubted right to enforce a settlement of difficulties between employers and employees when the continuance of such difficulties is detrimental to society at large and this we did not deny in the article referred to but asserted. But in enforcing such settlement the pressure must be put upon those who are in the wrong. And if we deny the right of the state to use force upon employers to secure a settlement we cannot exercise the right of using force upon employees without being guilty of tyranny, of injustice. All this we endeavored to make clear and we don't think the construction placed on the above quotation by Gov. Waite is warranted. As we have said the very use of the word *if* signified that we did not hold it improper for the state to use force to settle disputes between strikers and employers but only improper if the force was exerted wholly upon the strikers as we think this, a fuller quotation, makes clear. "If it is wrong to use the military, the force of the state to overawe strikers, to deny them the right of meeting and the use of the public highways, to browbeat them into submission, it is equally as wrong to use such force to encompass the defeat of employers whose employees have gone on strike. This as a simple proposition of equity is unassailable. Yet that the state has the right, yes the duty, to exert its force to protect the laborer against the aggressions of capital, to call a halt upon the moneyed interests when they use their power in a way to oppress the multitude, is scarcely deniable. And so on the other hand does it border on the absurd to lay it down as a rule of just government that the state must stand by and take no part in quarrels between employer and employed when such quarrels affect not only those directly concerned, but the welfare of the whole community. In such quarrels the state must take a hand in order to protect the body of its citizens in the enjoyment of their rights. If it does not take a hand it is remiss in its duty. And this is none the less so though we act on the principle that such quarrels are no concern of government. But as the general welfare is the concern of government so are such quarrels. . . . And so it is that the state gains the right to interfere in quarrels between capital and labor, to lay the hand of compulsion on capital here and labor there, to use its force to defeat the aggressions of capital at one time, to encompass the defeat of the demands of labor at another, in short to enforce compulsory arbitration of labor disputes."—Editor of *THE AMERICAN*.]

#### HENRY GEORGEISM.\*

**T**HE renting value of land aside from that given by any improvements placed upon it, is not value conferred by the owner but by society at large, and being conferred by society rightfully belongs to the state. And rightfully belonging to the state it should be taken by the state. This is the essence of Henry Georgeism and the system of the single tax, a tax system now being given a partial but practical trial in New Zealand, that land of reforms, with eminently satisfactory results.

Under this system of taxation all improvements on real estate

are exempted from taxation. It is only the value of the land, aside from such improvements, that is taxed, and under the single tax as advocated by Henry George, the owner of such land would be taxed to its full renting value, of course aside from the renting value given it by improvements, so that he would get no profit out of holding the land itself, so that the only rent he could exact and keep would be for the use of the improvements upon the land, so that society would derive the benefit from the value conferred by society, so that the owner would derive the benefit from the value conferred upon it by his own labor, or labor that he might hire, or by previous owners of the property. And in this there is justice. It is not legal robbery of the landlord, it is but putting an end to legalized robbery of society by the landlord. And by improvements on land is meant, be it understood, not merely buildings, but if it be farm land, clearing, drainage, fencing, indeed all the value conferred by labor. And in the case of farms in general nearly their whole value is such value and the rent is merely interest on the capital invested, or rather equivalent to the interest on the capital which it would take to bring equally good but wild land into a similar state of cultivation.

Of course where there is no land not taken up, no unreclaimed land of as high a productiveness as that under cultivation, then the land gets a monopoly value. And it is the rent that may be charged because of such monopoly value that would be taxed away under the single tax system on the principle that where men have special privileges they should pay full value for them. But there is more unreclaimed land and of as high, indeed higher productiveness than that now under cultivation, and even in our most thickly populated states, than is generally supposed. Thus we see everywhere marsh and low lands that are undoubtedly richest untouched by the hand of the cultivator, while the higher surrounding lands are being tilled. The reason for this is very simple. These richest lands are the ones that present the greatest obstacles to tillage, the lands that it takes the most capital, the most labor to bring under cultivation. So it is only as the country grows and capital accumulates that these lands are brought under tillage, though when once under cultivation they yield the largest return upon investment. And thus it is that the richest farming lands are the last to be brought into cultivation, not the first, and until these lands are reclaimed farming land does not take on monopoly value and does not command rent in the Ricardian sense of rent, but only rent in the sense of interest on the improvements.

So we see that rent divides itself into two kinds, rent upon value conferred by monopoly, which the owner has not earned by one stroke of labor, which is unearned increment, and rent upon value conferred by the owner. The latter rent the landlord earns by his labor and is entitled to, the former rent he does not earn but is a tribute of society to him as a monopolist, and if society would protect itself it ought to tax it away. And this is the natural tax taking from the landlord only what society confers, for surely it is only right that when society confers a benefit, society should be paid for the benefit it confers.

Of course in town land there is much more of this monopoly value, a monopoly value upon which rests such fortunes as those of the Astors. Thus on the outskirts of a growing town a man is fortunate enough to own some property. The town grows up around his estate, it doubles, it trebles, it quadruples in value without his ever so much as raising a finger. It is society that confers the value, it is the individual who gets the benefit.

From what we have so far said about the nature of rent it is obvious that to the extent that that rent is paid for the use of monopoly tenants are at the mercy of landlords, that so far as that rent is for improvements and things that may be duplicated, they are not. Thus the rent charged for the use of improvements can be no more than a fair rate of interest on the capital necessary to duplicate them, for if higher rent is demanded they will be duplicated and thus rents forced down. But where there is monopoly there is no chance of duplication and then the owners of the monopoly can and will exact from the users a rent only limited by the necessities of renters and their ability and willingness to pay, or rather by the ability and willingness of the least able, for there is a point beyond which monopoly rents cannot be raised without so limiting the number of renters who can pay the demanded rents, that there will be more places for rent than renters and then the competition among the land owners, the owners of those monopoly values, will force back the rents.

Thus on Society Hill there are a limited number of choice places for rent but an equally limited number of persons who can afford to pay the demanded rents. Raise the rents and some of this number, from pecuniary reasons, will be obliged to give up

\**Natural Taxation*. By THOMAS G. SHEARMAN. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.



such places and move into streets less fashionable and where houses can be had for less rent even though equally as good as those abandoned. And then the owners of property on Society Hill will discover that by grasping for too much they are suffering loss and so they will put back rents. And thus do the owners learn just what they can grasp and they grasp it. They can only raise rents as the number of persons who can afford to and are willing to pay their rents increases.

Now from what we have just said it is very apparent that these owners of monopoly values could not, if their taxes were increased, raise their rents. They could not because always squeezing the last drop out of their monopoly values—that is, renting to the highest bidders, the effort to squeeze one more drop out would leave them with vacant houses. Thus it follows that a tax on land values cannot be passed on by the owner. But the incidence of a tax on improvements is quite different. Such a tax can be, and will be, transferred to tenants and for this reason: Raise the tax and the return on money invested in building new houses will be diminished. This will cause a falling off in the erection of new houses, capitalists finding more attractive fields, and this in turn be followed by a more and more pressing demand among renters as population grows, a demand that must force up rents and force them up to a point that will tempt capitalists to build houses, thereby increasing the supply and meeting the demand. Thus it is that in the long run a tax on improvements will fall on the tenant, a tax on the monopoly value of land upon the owner.

And this owner profiting not from value conferred by effort of his own but value conferred by the labors of society should be taxed, should bear the burdens of the state. This is what Mr. Shearman has set out to show, to show that the natural tax, natural because it would take for society only what society gives, and therefore be oppressive to no man but just to all, is a tax upon what he calls, for want of a better name, ground rents. And outside of Philadelphia this term will do very well, but to the Philadelphian accustomed to buy and sell annuities secured by pledge of real estate and known as ground rents it conveys a wrong meaning. A tax on ground rents means to him a tax on such securities, which, as we have seen, is not what Mr. Shearman means at all. However, as a good New Yorker, he could not be expected to write for the convenience of Philadelphians.

It will be gathered from the foregoing that Mr. Shearman's work is an exposition of the advantages of the single tax. He leads up to this exposition in a most taking and politic way, a way so politic as to allure the reader who would disdainfully turn from the very mention of Henry Georgeism into perusing his argument and so entwine him in the meshes of Georgeism, make of him a convert without awakening his suspicions. Mr. Shearman addresses an audience that would never listen to Henry George and promptly put him down as an anarchist. If he told his readers he was advocating Henry Georgeism they would turn from him in disgust. But he don't. The title of the book conveys no meaning. It is calculated to attract those who set themselves up as having a superior knowledge to the rest of mankind not to repel. And we repeat the reader is deep into the work before he discovers what the author, this distinguished free trader, is driving at, and even then, unless he is acquainted with the doctrines of Henry George, he will not discover that the natural system of taxation advocated by Mr. Shearman is the single tax system of Henry George, with the single difference that Henry George urged the taking as a tax of all the unearned increment of land and spending it for the benefit of society at large in public works of such extent as this taxation would provide the means for, while Mr. Shearman advocates the taking of only so much of the unearned increment as would be necessary to meet the expenses of government economically administered, he having an inbred horror of the government undertaking socialistic works, so much so indeed that as a remedy for railroad evils he suggests, rather than to have the government take over the roads, that the roads be required to let all persons and corporations run private trains over their tracks subject to general rules.

As we have said the reader is deep into the work before he discovers what Mr. Shearman, who begins with a very clever exposition of the disadvantages of our present system of taxation, is driving at. Of course, being an ardent free trader, he has much to say of the "iniquities" of protective tariff duties and a very good case does he make. So if you are a free trader you will be delighted, if you are a protectionist you can pick his argument to pieces and at any rate you will see, before you have read far, that our present system is based on the principle of taxing not what we have, but our needs.

In conclusion we may add that as a national tax, he regards

the income tax with favor. "It may be noted," he says, "that an income tax levied exclusively at the sources of income, could be made to reach, with great approximation to equality, all rents, dividends, corporate payments of interest, and perhaps mortgage interest. As will hereafter be shown, the same results can be attained by much better methods, so far as they ought to be attained. But until the better method can be introduced, a tax upon incomes, at their source only, is much better than any form of indirect taxation. Only incomes from invested wealth can thus be reached . . . but no other incomes ought to be taxed." The better method is a tax on ground rents which he thus extolls: "When taxation is levied exclusively upon ground rent every man will have, for the first time in human history, an absolute and independent title to all of his property which is the production of human skill and industry," which is certainly too high praise, inasmuch as Mr. Shearman would not take for the benefit of society all the rent upon monopoly land values but only so much as needed to run the government, economically administered. In short, it seems to us he would use the taxing power to do only half justice. But he thinks the tax that he urges a veritable panacea for all our ills.—But we do not care to find fault with a work that there are few men who could not read with advantage. It is a work of a kind that cannot help causing the thoughtful reader to do a lot of healthful thinking whether he agrees with the writer or not.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

### The Real Bismarck.

*The Real Bismarck.* By JULES HOCHÉ. Translated from the French by MRS. CHARLES R. ROGERS. Illustrated. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$2.

What is great to one in one sense, is no greatness to some one else from another point of view. The judgment of literary greatness may differ. It may differ in a great many ways, as greatness itself differs. Indeed, diversity of thought, conception and ideal, and, not seldom, a great deal of prejudice, play a conspicuous part with individuals who are destined to walk in the sunshine of the literary profession. But there is one greatness, or, to make it mild, one great gift, appreciated by every cultured mind, which certainly receives due tribute from every tribunal of human judgment, from every one in fact who claims to be a reader of literature and history at large. It is the greatness to *Criticise*, to fully appreciate what is great in a man, truly great, to judge his natural worth as well as his acquired fame.

It is always interesting to read of heroes and their deeds, it is still more interesting to read of their wonderful and glorious achievements, but, most interesting of all is, it seems, to read of the work they have accomplished in a life time for the good of their fellow-man, their age and the world at large. The interest grows all-absorbing, indeed, if the historian paints his hero or heroes as they are, as the world knows them, as they stand before the eye; deals with facts, and neither adds to nor takes from the judgment which the world has already cast upon them. It is therefore by no means an easy task to picture a great man in cold type, to write the history or life, of one who stood foremost in the evolution of the day. It is easy, therefore, to appreciate what it means to a Frenchman to write a life of Bismarck, who during the last fifty-five years directed the world's politics in no small manner, of him who through diplomacy, statecraft and war, altered the map of the world and did so much to make his own land what it is to-day. For this reason one cannot help paying due tribute to the author of the present book, who, though a Frenchman, gives accurate facts and offers a well-colored description of his subject, thus making the *real* Bismarck *real* in many ways and emphasizing that it is difficult to form a true opinion of him without the psychological key, which the author certainly had in his possession before commencing his task.

The book, which is most interesting for the sake of the historical data and the well depicted life of this German of Germans, is not less charming for the richness of humor scattered throughout.

Yet while one appreciates many logical opinions the author has expressed in his book and how well he has characterized Bismarck, his life, his career, his success and even his personality it becomes difficult to follow the "lonely" belief, expressed in the last chapter on "Bismarck before posterity," claiming that posterity will not accord him the place which was his in life. It



is true, and every one will frankly admit, that throughout his life Bismarck represented will, not soul; reason, not art; statesmanship, not human impulse; but for all that he is nevertheless a man of history, having made history himself; of posterity, having forced himself into it. M. Hoche will, therefore, not find many who will be ready to accept his belief that because Bismarck's success was so rapid and brilliant it cannot be transformed into lasting glory.

It may be that journalistic success dies with those who have attained it, in these our days of rapid progress, and that oblivion enwraps him who has quickly become popular. But with a man who created such a monument for himself and whom the writer has so fittingly glorified, it is impossible to feel that all has ended with the funeral, with pompous discourses, necrological reports and a few monuments more erected in his honor. Yes, it may be true, that a nation, like individuals, may rush toward and cling to some new idol immediately after the death of its former one, for this is human nature to some extent; but it is also human nature to be grateful, to cherish memories which live far beyond the grave. Such a thought alone would be mortifying, indeed, should we have to believe, that there is nothing left for real genius, for real greatness except the casket and a few newspaper clippings.

Who will not read with awe and awe-inspiring inspiration even after centuries have followed centuries, of heroic deeds, of brilliant achievements, of fame and lustre? And such a life of renown was that of the "Iron Chancellor" and will undoubtedly, always be so regarded. His biography, abstracted, according to M. Hoche is as follows: Karl Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen was born, as a matter of fact, at Brandenburg in 1813. He studied law at various universities, chiefly at Goettingen and, soon afterward, entered the political arena. In 1847 he was elected Member of the Prussian Diet; in 1851 attached to the Prussian Embassy. Here his first plan seems to have been to drive Austria out from the Union of Germany to which it theretofore had belonged. He afterwards represented Prussia in Paris, and later in St. Petersburg. In 1866 the deciding war was declared against Austria after an alliance had been formed with Italy. Bismarck favored the occupation of Hanover and Saxony strongly, which proved later the clever war-politics of the rising statesman. He also negotiated secret treaties of offensive and defensive alliance with various other states, chiefly with Bavaria, Wuertemberg and Baden. Of course, his king must be made chief commander of the armies of all the states mentioned. By aid of these great forces and by their skillful military tactics the war terminated; the German states, victorious, were crowned with new laurels and Prussia became, perhaps, the foremost power then in Europe. This accomplished, Bismarck organized the "North German Confederacy" in 1867, comprising twenty-two states with a population of about thirty millions, and in 1869 he became foreign minister of this powerful organization. Now his greatness rose with his task. Quietly he prepared for what he saw to be inevitable. He tried to meet the prestige of Napoleon III., which was growing upon him heavily. This period is famous. The diplomatic rendezvous and masquerade resulted in the great Franco-German war in 1870-1871, which firmly united all Germany, and in the finale Bismarck dictated peace terms in the enemy's very capital. He had the satisfaction of seeing his beloved King William crowned as William I, Emperor of Germany at that ancient castle at Versailles, so sacred to every Frenchman. There, in due reward for his gigantic work, he was made First Chancellor of the German Empire, which lofty position he occupied and in which capacity he served until 1890, when the young Emperor, William II., forced him, so to speak, to send in his resignation.

Thenceforth this "man of iron and blood" was to taste the bitter pill of providential irony and human ingratitude. As a hermit he used to be seen of late walking with his famous dogs, of which interesting descriptions are given in the book before us, in the celebrated Sachsenwald. And from there his voice was quite frequently heard, and ever and anon the world received some news from the ex-Chancellor. The translation of the book seems to have been made with care and deserves special mention, owing to the fact that it reads well and is unlike other translations, where one feels immediately that it is neither the one language nor the other.

The book must have been prepared beforehand, with the intention of publishing it whenever the moment should arrive. Bismarck's death is not mentioned, which, as a matter of course, makes it for this reason incomplete as a finished biography. The illustrations are superb, and taken from the best known paintings

of Bismarck. The book is arranged in sixteen chapters, each carefully designed, and contains detailed description of a certain period of his life. It is full of facts and reminiscences. The humor and fine shade of wit render the story of all-absorbing interest. A special chapter is given to the famous caricatures of the "Fliegende Blaetter," the "Kladderadatsch," the "Lustige Blaetter" and other foreign humorous papers of political and social renown. The incongraphic notes have certainly been collected with care and precision, and even the three legendary hairs have not been overlooked.

The man of "eternal contradictions" has received throughout the book fair and serious consideration from every point of view. M. Hoche has furnished a sketch of his subject full of life and spirit, true from the very foundation, which becomes indispensable to the biography of a man like Bismarck, whose enigmatical personality invited as many detractors as admirers, and of whom has been said at the same time so much both of good and evil that it is impossible to form an opinion concerning him, unless in possession of that unique gift which we referred to at the beginning, but of which a great many of his biographers were lacking, namely, "impartiality" and "an exact psychological theory," necessary to solve in a conclusive manner the vital problem offered to the entire world by this rare personage, who for over half a century was the most attractive, the most idolized, the most conspicuous and the most hated, but above all, the most well known man in the world.

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#### Philosophy in Cap and Bells.

English, Scotch and Irish Wit and Humor Three volumes. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. Each 50 cents.

As aids to the manufacture of impromptu after-dinner speeches of the approved pattern, these pretty little books are likely to find a hearty welcome. The first has a fine portrait of Canon Sydney Smith, one of the few genuine wits of the century; the others have Thomas Campbell and Tom Moore respectively, men of humor rather than wit, though Campbell is not fairly recognizable as a Scotch humorist. The gift of saying funny things is no rarity, being almost as common as the storing of funny stories, an accomplishment which seems a sufficient substitute for original drollery in the average popular speaker. But this knack of telling laughable anecdotes and turning them into handy parables is not the same as being humorous or witty, or even the cause of wit in others, by spontaneous turn of phrase. There may be unconscious humor, and even wit, as in the Irishman's remark when the judge reminded him that two witnesses had seen his offense, "Yer honor says that two saw me do it! Be jabbers, I can bring forty witnesses who'll swear they *didn't* see me do it!" There is no bull in this. Sir Boyle Roche was the champion breeder of this famous herd. He it was who feelingly observed that "single misfortunes never come alone, and the greatest of all calamities is usually followed by a much greater." Speaking in Parliament on the Irish question, he lamented that his country was "overrun by absentee landlords; aye, the cup of Ireland's misery is overflowing, and the worst of it is—it is not full yet." We laugh at the clumsy way of putting his facts but how do we know but that it was simply the device of a very shrewd man to impress his facts the more forcibly upon us. There is no such delightful model for the making of a sugar-coated bitter pill as his famous invitation, sent to an acquaintance whom he probably did not consider a friend: "I hope, my lord, if ever you come within a mile of my house, that you'll stay there all night." Here is wit of the highest degree, if we give him the benefit of the doubt as to its being a mere stumble of phrase. Paddy has never been fairly treated in this matter of ready wit, as most of the quips we laugh at as bulls, by which we mean stupidities, have a kernel of twinkling wit and easy-going wisdom. The stupidity is often ours. "Get up, Mike, sure the storm'll tumble the house about ye if ye don't come out?" "Arrah, what care I for the house, it's only a lodger I am, so it is." This was no bull, but just his enviable way of veiling trouble with a joke as he scrambled out of bed like lightning. What neater retort courteous was ever made than this. A snobish tourist calls out, "Here you bog-trotter, tell me the biggest lie of your life and I'll treat you to a whiskey punch." "By my soul, yer honor's a jintleman." Dan O'Connell used to tell of a crier in one of the courts who cleared the court as follows: "All you blackguards *hat isn't lawyers* must lave the coort before I make ye!" In a recent number of one of the leading New York weeklies, the bull is perpetrated by the editor who gives the heading, "An Irish Bull," to an alleged joke, the



point of which is that golf is too much like hard work to be a sport. Newspaper "wit and humor" usually shoots wide of the bull's eye. The word "wit" is used of simple fun. Hence, the popular notion that one who can always tell a funny story is a witty man.

English wit is broadly distinguishable from that of the Irish, Scotch and American varieties, mainly because of an element of sarcasm, or criticism, which gives it a sting. It is, at its best, a razor which cuts without hurting at the moment. Little Maggie is asked why she did not say grace over her dinner. "Cos it's only hash, and I've said two graces over it already." This belongs to the same class as Horne Tooke's audacious reply to George the Third, when his sovereign asked him whether he played cards. "No, your Majesty; the fact is, I cannot tell a king from a knave." Another form of pointed humor, which thereby becomes wit, is shown in the story of Dean Swift and the messenger boy. The latter had delivered a package, saying, "Master has sent you this turbot." The Dean, annoyed, bade the youth sit down, make believe he was the Dean, and the Dean would be the messenger. "We will change places and I'll show you how to behave in future." Thereupon the Dean made a bow and said, "Sir, my master sends you his compliments and requests your acceptance of a small present." "Indeed," replied the smart boy. "Return your master my best thanks and take this half crown for yourself." Dean Swift was caught that time. So was the conceited dude who went to engage lodgings, and gaily asked the girl who opened the door whether she was to be let with the lodging. She answered, "No, I am to be let alone." A young preacher on coming down from the pulpit hoped he had not wearied his hearers by the length of his sermon. "Oh no, nor by the depth or breadth of it." It could hardly have been the same cleric who, when at college, failed in every subject and then on complaining he had not been examined on the things he knew, was handed a scrap of paper the size of a dollar with the request to write on it all he really did know.

The pun has been a much abused instrument of torture by both maker and victim. It is an English institution, popular because it is a weapon as ready to hand as a stone on the road-way. Senseless and vulgar as many puns are they can be polished into brilliant wit by those who possess it, and the humblest lover of humor may use them as keys to unloose wholesome mirth. The merit of a pun is in its spontaneity. Tom Hood was, and remains, supreme as a punster; out of the absurdest freaks he produced biting wit, delicious nonsense, keen wisdom, and moving pathos. "Ah, doctor, that's a lot of mustard to so little meat," he said as the plaster was applied to his wasted chest as he lay a-dying. His sly hit at the genteel poverty of the author class of his day is worth repeating. "We speak of the republic of letters because we have not a sovereign (\$5) among us." Douglas Jerrold did more vicious execution with a pun than any wielder of it in its lance form. Discussing orthodox belief he was asked to define dogmatism, as he was denouncing it so fiercely. He did so on the instant; "dogmatism is puppyism arrived at maturity." He was only in a merry mood when he remarked to his wife that a man ought to be free to treat his wife like a banknote after she had turned forty, and change her into two twenties. Jerrold disliked the Scotch, so when a Mr. Leitch introduced himself, with the unnecessary explanation—meant to be humorous—that he was not John Leech, the English artist, Jerrold chilled him with the salute, "of course not, you are the Scotchman with the i-t-c-h." The genial pun is exemplified by the farmer's reply when his landlord told him he was going to raise his rent. "I am very glad of that sir, as I am quite unable to raise it myself." The Scotch have a rich fund of humor, peculiar to their climate and canny temperament. They call it a "pawky" humor, and the sound of the word does quite as well as any sense it may have. It generally hits hard and still tickles as it smarts. The preacher, finding several asleep in the pews, rebuked them by pointing to the half-witted butt of the village, "Even Jamie Frazer, idiot as he is, keeps awake while I expound the Word!" On which Jamie sings out, "An if I hadna been an eediot, I wad be asleep too." The Scotch are always practical and literal. One fell into a bog and as he was sinking he called to a Scotchman for help. If he had asked for a lift he would have got it, but he asked "How can I get out of this?" The Scot took in the situation, and made reply, "I dinna think ye can," and then he went on his way. Lord Cockburn, a famous judge, remarked to his shepherd one day, as he pointed to the exposed resting place of the flock, "John, if I were a sheep I would lie on the other side of the hill." Says John, "Ay, my lord, but if ye had been a sheep ye wad a had mair sense." It was a Scotch student who got the

better of a professor who was rather hard on him in a *viva voce* examination. Sure of exposing the youth's stupidity this time the professor asked "Do you really mean to assert that an effect can ever go before a cause?" "Yes, sir." "Illustrate." "A wheelbarrow pushed by a man." Another practical Scot, under irritating examination, being asked as a teaser how he would discover a fool, replied, "By the questions he would put." And another collegian, in answer to the professor of history, who asked "How came Mary Queen of Scots to be born at Linlithgow?" gave the entirely convincing reply, "Because her mither was visiting there at the time, sir." The Scotch pulpit has never lacked plainspeech pastors. One who had a troublous time of it, what with miserly sinners and scandelmongering saints, began his sermon on Job after this manner: "Job, my brethren, in the first place, was a sairly tried man; Job, in the second place, was an uncommonly patient man; Job, in the third place, never had to preach in this parish; fourth and lastly, if Job had preached here—the Lord only knows what would have become of his patience!"

The browser among old, and the most ancient books, is continually coming upon what pass for modern jests and stories. The pedigree of the newest joke is probably traceable away back to the time of the Ark. Human nature, its tastes and moods, change little if at all in main characteristics. The utility, the philosophical wisdom, of parrying the strokes of evil fate by timely play of good humor has always been perceived by wise folk. The old rhyme puts it that

A little nonsense now and then  
Is relished by the wisest men.

We may not all be wits but we can enjoy and duly cultivate the genial quality which in varying degree, from laughter-giving story up to sparkling wit, brightens the none too joyous intercourse of daily life. The pity is that even smiles and tears have in these sordid times been grabbed as raw material for the profession and industry of the fun purveyor. Nothing escapes the ubiquitous machine man. If only for this it is refreshing to read anew such long forgotten anecdotes and gems of wit and humor as are gathered in these attractive little volumes. Some are so changed as to almost lose their original form, which reminds us of the Scotch Sunday-school boy who was asked the meaning of regeneration in the course of being catechized. "It means to be born again, sir." "That's right. Now wouldn't you like to be born again, Tommy?" "Na, sir, I wadna." "And why not, Tommy?" "Weel, sir, I'm feared I might be born a lassie."

#### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*How to Get Strong and How to Stay So.* By WILLIAM BLAIKIE. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.75.

In this day of athletics and general interest in athletics by the public, the present book by Mr. Blaikie must prove of great interest and pleasure. He has hit on a good title, "How to Get Strong and How to Stay So," and one that appeals to all. The title is, however, not a bit better than the book taken as a whole. No book can be quite perfect for we are told it is human to err, and in our opinion the author can still lay claim to the human in some of the details of his work. The greatest objection that can stand against this book is that it is too large and cumbersome, with too much detail so that we fear it will weary the general reader.

After giving us some 240 pages on how to get strong and how to stay so, Mr. Blaikie presents us with the very novel departure of several hundred pages devoted to "Great Men's Bodies," with the commendable desire to interest our people in attaining bodily strength and health that they may be more fitted to fight life's battle. He holds up for inspection many men of long years ago, as well as of the present day, with world wide reputations, and then reasons that they one and all would have proved failures in their several callings but for the fact of their splendid health and strength. It is a little far fetched when the author puts before us an example such as Moses and then has the audacity to tell us of his physique and personal appearance, when we all know that history has never given us facts on which to base such assertions. When our author compares Washington to Sullivan, the prize fighter, and then writes of what a pretty fight these men would have made if they could have come together in the ring, we must say he goes too far and insults our good taste. No American cares to have the father of his country figure in such an odious comparison.



## Wanamaker's.

### French Books

The French section of the book store is known far and near. Just a word to say that we've brought from Paris many books in holiday attire or at least with bindings that make them seem more give-able.

For general readers, 75c to \$3.

For little folks—books with bright covers and colored pictures. 35c to \$1.20.

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One lithographic press running ten hours a day for three years could not produce even our own exclusive line of calendars, and many more are also here. That means satisfying selection, but it means also unmatched prices. It seems almost impossible, but large-order economies on these calendars which we have had made for our own selling, bring prices that are from a half to a quarter of usual costs.

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It is highly important that papers of the reform press shall obtain at once a very largely increased circulation. To help secure this we have made special arrangements which enable you to get the leading papers at the very minimum cost.

The regular subscription price of THE AMERICAN is \$2.00 per annum. We now offer to send it, together with any one of the following named papers, for the amount stated opposite the name of each paper respectively, to wit:—with THE REPRESENTATIVE, (Ignatius Donnelly) \$1.50  
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THE REFERENDUM		

With these exceptions the book is a splendid volume of good common sense and one that we should desire to have in the hands of every family. Any book that tends to so interest our people as to get them to study how best to strengthen their bodies can do only good and the author should be regarded as a public benefactor. Mr. Blaikie's two chapters "Special Exercises for any Given Muscles" and "What Exercise to Take Daily" would make an ideal and handy pamphlet and could be given the public at a reasonable price. Such a pamphlet could not fail of a large and appreciative audience.

The bicycle rider will be pleased to read the following which is a good sample of Mr. Blaikie's work. "Not yet in the world's history has any other plaything been discovered at once so useful and attractive. Nothing has approached the wheel in tempting all persons of all ages and sizes to get out-of-doors, and to take a little vigorous daily exercise, to drop all thought of business, and to play a little. No other thing is doing so much for the health, force, and vigor of our in-door people. No other thing has approached the wheel in enabling girls and women (and men too) to dress sensibly and comfortably, and in helping at last to educate their bodies, as well as those of the men."

\*.\*

*The Cosino Girl in London.* By Herself. Edited by CURTIS DUNHAM. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.

Here we have the nautch dancer of latest Cockneydom. She happens to be an American girl, of the type hailed as smartest of the smart, cutest of the cute, by devotees of the comic opera stage. Not exactly a butterfly, but one of those equally gaudy moths with a dash of worldly wisdom, enough, at least, to enable them to make the most of life as their short range eyes see it. This gem of pure literature has a noble theme. The history and revealed mystery of a travelling theatrical troupe in London. The estimable heroine angles for gold fish and makes catches that keep her rivals in agonies of envy. Dukes and cubs of the nobility tumble into her net and she into their bank accounts more than their affections. For the sun of romance we have the malodorous footlights and in place of high love and devotion, the tricks, winks, and high jinks of ballet girls' sprees with titled swells. Columbia, dumb with amazed emotion, salutes Literature (with the tip of her sandal) for this noble tribute.

### ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

Some consternation has been caused among a class of popular heroes by the disclosure of a system of book publishing in England, which also flourishes here. The jockeys, headed by Sloan the American, are refusing to pay for a work to which they were induced to subscribe on the understanding that their portraits were to figure prominently in it. Finding that they are lost in a crowd of small fry their dignity bids them keep aloof, so a hundred of them are being sued for the price.

\*.\*

On this the New York *Sun* lets the cat out of the bag, one of a good sized family of cats that seldom mew.

"It is not jockeys and stable boys only whose vanity leads them into promising to pay for the supposed distinction of having their portraits and biographies printed in a book. Some half-dozen, more or less, of enterprising men are engaged in getting out what they call biographical cylopedias or dictionaries, and they obtain much money from the people who are described in them. Their proceeding is first to solicit from their victims the material for their biographies, and the solicitation is usually complied with—partly out of good nature, and partly to prevent the errors which would occur if it were not. Then follows a request for a photograph, from which to engrave a portrait to be printed in the book, and, finally, a pressure to subscribe for a copy of it, at anywhere from \$25 to \$100 per copy. The cost of publication being, say \$5 per copy, and the number of biographies being anywhere from 500 to 1000, the profit, even if only half of the subjects subscriber is evidently enormous."

\*.\*

In the long lists of books already issued this fall and to appear during this coming winter and spring, there is one which every reformer or student of sociological questions will be anxious to possess. This is "A Popular History of France," by Hon. Thomas E. Watson, better known to friends of humanity as Tom Watson. The work is to be in two volumes, of which the first will be out in the early spring and the second a little later.

## CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

New Books.

### The Story of the Revolution

BY HENRY CABOT LODGE. With nearly 200 illustrations by Pyle, Yohn, Chapman, de Thulstrup, Clark, Ditzler, Shipley and others. 2 volumes, 8vo., \$6.00.

Senator Lodge's work is at once an absorbing story and a dignified contribution to history. The author's narrative is fresh and vigorous, true to life in both proportion and spirit, modern in its treatment, yet earnest, exalted and patriotic. This work is indispensable to any one who would gain a true conception of the American Struggle for Liberty.

"The attitude of Senator Lodge is especially interesting, since it is that of the trained political mind, capable of judging, somewhat from their own standpoint, these early American statesmen and the problems which confronted them."—*San Francisco Call*.

### The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns.

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### Our Navy in the War With Spain.

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### Commercial Cuba.

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**THE WORKERS THE WEST.** By WALTER A. WYCKOFF. "No one interested in the problems of humanity can afford to leave it unread."—*Brooklyn Eagle*. Illustrated. 12mo, \$1.60.

**RED ROCK.** By THOMAS NELSON PAGE. A Chronicle of Reconstruction. "This is an intensely interesting novel, and a historical study of high value. It deserves a wide sale."—*New York Times*. Illustrated by B. West Chubb. 12mo, \$1.50.

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A year or more since THE AMERICAN reviewed a small volume called "The Story of France." This was the forerunner of the present work.

Great things grow from small beginnings, and so in this case. Mr. Watson began by preparing a series of short articles for his paper, thinking, and with reason, that the sharp lessons he drew from French history would throw light on existing conditions in this country. Out of this modest beginning "The Story of France" grew. Printed hastily, it did not at all satisfy Mr. Watson, though a book of great strength, and he soon decided to entirely re-write it and to largely extend the scope of the work. Last winter we learned with much satisfaction that Mr. Watson had arranged with The Macmillan Company, of New York, to publish his work, for this ensures to it careful attention from many who for one reason or another would very likely have ignored it if published by Mr. Watson himself, as "The Story of France" was. Judging from this latter and from what we know of Mr. Watson we shall be greatly surprised if his new work does not give him a high place among historical and sociological writers.

\*\*

A radical departure from the present business policy of most, if not all publications is about to be made by Frank A. Munsey, of *Munsey's Magazine*, who announces that "on December 31, 1898, all commissions on our publications to advertising agents will cease." It would seem that this policy will result in forcing advertisers to place their business direct.

\*\*

"Mr. John Luther Long," says the *Book-Buyer*, "who attracted attention to himself several months ago by a story of Japan published in the *Century* magazine, and entitled 'Madam Butterfly,' also wrote a strong character sketch of the Pennsylvania Dutch, entitled 'Ein Nix Nutz.' His Japanese tales have just been gathered into a volume by the *Century* Company. Mr. Long was born in Hanover, Pa., of Southern parentage, about thirty-seven years ago. He is a graduate of Lafayette College, and makes his home in Ashbourne, one of the suburbs of Philadelphia. He is a practicing lawyer in the latter city, devoting his leisure to writing."

\*\*

After all, Mr. John Morley is going to undertake the biography of Gladstone. At sixty-four most of his extreme heretical views have mellowed down, he no longer spells God with a little g, he has written a characteristic book on "Compromise," and has taken a Catholic lady to wife. These considerations, with the certainty that the Gladstone family will supply the proper color and sentiment of which Morley is practically destitute, ought to ensure a very notable work. From the standpoint of a dry political historian Morley is the ideal man. He may be trusted to depict Gladstone the statesman in plain black and white, without sympathy or spite, but then—he is to be edited by the family.

\*\*

Here is an acrostic on Gladstone by his ancient foe the Earl of Derby, translator of Homer, who died in the sixties:

G was a Genius, and mountain of mind;  
L a Logician, expert and refined;  
A an Adept at rhetorical art;  
D was the Dark spot that lurked in his heart;  
S was the Subtlety that led him astray;  
T was the Truth that he bartered away;  
O was the cipher his conscience became;  
N was the New Light that lit up the same;  
E was the Evil One shouting for joy,

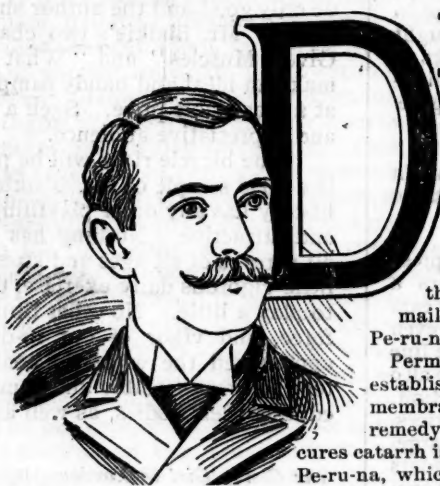
"Down with it! Down with it! Gladstone my boy!"

#### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- PEMBERTON, or One Hundred Years Ago By Henry Peterson. Pp. 393. Illustrated. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co. \$1.50.
- IN THE FORBIDDEN LAND. By A. Henry Savage Landor. Two volumes. Pp. 307-250; illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- ADVANCED SIGHT TRANSLATION German Selections. Compiled by Rose Chamberlin. Pp. 44. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 15 cents.
- FRENCH REVIEW EXERCISES for Advanced Pupils. By P. B. Marcon. Pp. 34. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 20 cents.
- THE RISE AND GROWTH OF AMERICAN POLITICS. A sketch of Constitutional Development. By Henry Jones Ford. Pp. 409. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.50.
- THERE GO THE SHIPS AND AFTER MANY DAYS. By Rev. H. Vallette Warren. Pp. 131. Buffalo: Charles Wells Moulton. \$1.
- THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES, or the Evolution of Popular Co operation in Government and its Results. By Frederick A. Cleveland. Pp. 532. Chicago: The Quadrangle Press. \$1.50.

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## DRAWING

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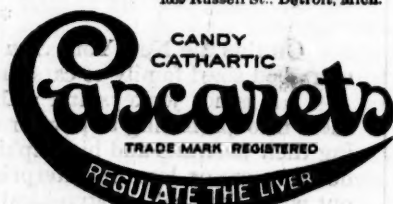
Mr. C. R. Harden, Evansville, Wis., writes: "I was troubled with catarrh for fifteen years, of which the Pe-ru-na has entirely cured me. I am no more troubled with the choking which the catarrh produced and am able to sleep well. Pe-ru-na also cured my son of severe lung trouble, stopping the hemorrhages entirely. He is now well and hard at work."

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